


# FORWARD

Rebuilding **India** In Netaji's Way



And we have been,  
and we have seen  
What thorns the  
roads had left for us.  
We have then let the  
sunset scream  
**And screamed along,**  
**'May hailed be thus.'**

That monk so  
maddened on  
bloodshot skies  
**O hear him raise,**  
**'Arise, Arise!'**

#NETAJI125  
(1897-2022)



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“...to Netaji himself—what is happening in and about Imphal is of **enormous** importance” - Peter Ward Fay

Forward

On this day in 1944, The Indian Tricolour was hoisted for the **second time** by Colonel **Shaukat Ali Malik** of the **Indian National Army (INA)** on a liberated Indian soil.

Forward Webzine pays tribute to the **liberator** and his **liberation army**.

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*paritranaya sadhunam vinashaya cha dushkritam  
dharma-sansthapanarthaya sambhavami yuge yuge*

To protect the righteous, to annihilate the wicked, and to reestablish the principles of dharma I appear on this earth, age after age.

In the past century when our nation was submerged under Slavery and oppression, the status of fellow Indians were reduced to mere living beings. It was then when our Leader, Netaji was born. A man with a vision of Free India, it was under his leadership, countrymen got the power to dethrone the British from Indian Soil.

This year marks the 125th Birth Anniversary of the greatest son of Mother India, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The year is filled various events and activities to pay tribute to our Liberator. 23rd January, 2021 was celebrated all over the country with great enthusiasm. People with utter Love and respect have celebrated the Leader's Birth Anniversary. Forward has been the Proud Media Partner of Subhas Jonmo Jayanti Borsho.

Following the same trend, Forward along with the other esteemed Netajian and Social Organizations have arranged a Health Camp and Blood Donation Camp. We hope that our hard work will help in succeeding the Liberator's Dream, and thereby REBUILDING INDIA IN NETAJI'S WAY.

**Jay Hind!**



## Legion Freies Indien (Part 2)

Rajdeep Saha

(..... After part 1)



Subhas Chandra Bose organized the Free India Legion as a standard German Army infantry regiment of three battalions each of four companies. Initially all its commissioned officers were Germans but in brief course some senior NCOs were commissioned as officers. The Legion was partially motorized, being equipped with 81 motor vehicles and 700 horses. The official language of the command was Hindi, but since many members came from regions of India where Hindi was not widely spoken, this was not always practiced. Moreover due to the German inability to provide Hindi speaking personnel, most of the German communications were in English. English was also used between Indian legionnaires of different linguistic background. Abid Hasan, the secretary to Bose, once heard two Rajput soldiers greeting each other with “Jai Ram Ji Ki”. He proposed the greeting “Jai Hindustan Ki” to Bose, who assigned “Jai Hind” as the national greeting of the Azad Hind.

Netaji and Abwehr had grandiose plans for the **IR 950** and planned to push forward Rommel’s North African offensive towards Egypt and the Suez Canal. Rommel will catch up with army group B which will cross Stalingrad from Balkans. Together both the armies will accompany an Axis campaign via the Caucasus and march on into Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and then India. The German hope was to link up with the Japanese forces advancing from Burma and China. It is doubtful whether Subhas Bose envisaged the Legion would be an army sufficient to conduct an effective campaign on its own; instead it would encourage public resentment against the Raj and ignite the British India Army into revolt. As early as the end of August 1941, Netaji had formulated a plan to fly the Legion to India using parachute landings to start an anti-British revolt in the North West Frontier Province.



In January 1942, Operation Bajadere was launched in which 100 Indians were parachuted into eastern Persia aiming to infiltrate into India through Baluchistan and commence sabotage operations against the British in preparation for an anticipated national revolt. As per German sources, this operation achieved some success, but there is nothing on record. Bose's plans were too grandiose for their military capability and their fate too strongly lied to that of the Axis powers. While the IR 950 was going through initial recruitment, organization and training, America joined the war; Polish and French Resistance gained strength against Nazi occupiers; England turned back the German tide in the Battle of Britain; and America became limiting then defeating Japan in Pacific. When Bose had met Hitler on 29th May 1942, he began to believe that Hitler was more interested to use his men to win propaganda victories than military ones. He was confirmed when Hitler's tanks rolled across Soviet borders and smashed into Russia, but he was powerless. He was thwarted when the Axis reversed at Stalingrad and El Alanin by end of 1942. However in the Far East, the Japanese army in Burma stood at the gates of India. So he transferred a small contingent including many of Indian officer corps and enlisted leadership to the Indian National Army in South East Asia on 21st January 1943 and he himself left for Japan in a German U-boat on 9th February.

With Bose's departure, the Legion Freies Indien was left leaderless and demoralized. It was used only for non-combat duties as the Germans did not trust the Indians and had very low opinion of their fighting qualities



Hitler is reputed to have once commented: "The Indian Legion is a joke." The fact that no officer had chosen to join these forces created a major command and control problem as the soldiers did not respect the newly appointed officers and NCOs amongst themselves. In the absence of Bose, motivation was a problem due to higher influence of military discipline and limited influence of nationalism. The most important factor is that even before the forces were properly organized, the tide was turning against the Axis powers and they were well aware of it. Under the command of Lt. Col Kurt Krappe, the Tiger Legion was transferred to Zeeland in Netherlands in April 1943 as a part of the Atlantic Wall garrison. It was the North Atlantic Wall defense which had bunkers that oversaw the English Channel. The purpose of the Wall was to resist an expected Allied landing. By the end of September they were moved to St. Andre de Cubzac in South West France where it was deployed on coastal defense duties for the Bay of

Biscay in the area of Lacanau near Bordeaux. Here they were inspected by Field Marshal Rommel in April 1944.

The area saw no fighting during the D-Day/ Normandy Landings (6th June 1944) onwards. Now the Legion comprising of 2300 men were transferred to Waffen SS, a wing of Nazi Party paramilitary force – Schutzstaffel – that operated in conjugation with German army. It was on 8th August 1944. The Legion was renamed as “Indian Volunteer Legion of the Waffen SS” (German: “Indische Freiwilligen Legion der Waffen SS”), although the uniforms and army ranks remained unaltered. On 15th August 1944, the Legion left Lacanau to retreat to Germany. The first part of the journey was by rail upto Poitiers where they were attacked by French Resistance forces where a number of men were wounded, i.e. first battle casualties. By August end it moved by road to Allier where it was again harassed by French Resistance. They reached the Berry Canal by the beginning of September where they were opposed by French regular forces. As a result of the street fighting they suffered the first death in combat. As the Legion trudged along through France along with regular German units, they gained a wild and loathsome reputation amongst the civilian population as certain units reportedly committed atrocities on the civilians and French Resistance forces. Henre Gendreaux, a former French Resistance officer remembered the Legion passing through his hometown in Ruffec: “I do remember several cases of rape. A lady and her two daughters were raped and in another case they even shot dead a little two-year-old girl.” Actually the Waffen SS was manned by ardent Nazis and their association alone would have tainted the Legion. So after several days halt for rest, the Indische Freiwilligen Legion resumed journey towards Remisemont and then marching via Colmar in Alace they arrived at Oberhofen near the garrison town of Hagenau in Germany.

During Christmas of 1944 one part of the Legion is said to have been transferred to Italy. The battalions fought bravely during spring 1945 and also freed British 5 Corps and Polish 2 Corps before they were withdrawn from the front to be used as anti-partisan forces. However their fate is unknown. The remaining part of the Legion stayed at Heuberg until the end of March 1945. When the German surrender seemed imminent, the Legion attempted to cross to neutral Switzerland via Lake Constance, one of the Alpine passes, but was denied entry by the Swiss guards. Meanwhile the Allied forces intercepted. There are accounts of groups of soldiers being summarily executed. Finally they were captured at Immenstadt by the French Moroccan Legion and ultimately handed over to the British India Army. Rudolf Hartog, the Legion’s German Military translator, who was 80 years old in 2004 when the BBC interrogated him, said: *“The last day we were together an armored tank appeared. I thought my goodness, what can I do? I’m finished.”* *“But he wanted to collect the Indians. We embraced each other and cried. You see that was*



*the end.*” Under the British Army the legionnaires were mistreated as “oath-bearers”. They were shifted back to India after short jail sentences. When the British put three senior INA officers (Shah Nawaz Khan, GS Dhillon, Prem Sehgal) on trial near Delhi, some of the legionnaires also stood there on charges of treason. But due to munitions in the army and mass protests on the streets their trials were never completed.



The British now became aware that the Indian Army could no longer be relied upon by the Raj to do its bidding. This was when Independence followed. It was neither Gandhi nor Nehru who gained us our freedom, but it was the INA, the Indian Legion and the supreme leader Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose who rocked the British throne. But the post-independent Indian Government fell silent on the

saga of the Indian Legion. It was not proper to propagate the fact that Indian troops had fought on behalf of Hitler and Germany. This story was locked away in 1945 itself, due not to be released until 2021. Thus these valiant soldiers never received their due respect. The fact that JN Nehru considered Subhas Bose as his rival and feared that any importance to Bose and his army would affect his standing in India, added camphor to the flame. Thus the **Legion Freies Indien**, Netaji’s brainchild was orphaned by war and politics. It remains largely forgotten beyond historical research.





Portrait of the Liberator

By

SHINJINI DEB



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"Any liberation of **India** secured through Japanese **sacrifice**, is worse than slavery."

- Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose to **Japanese Field Marshal** Terauchi

# MINISTRY OF AZAD HIND GOVERNMENT

Debayan Chatterjee

**Introduction:-** On 21 October 1943, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose announced the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) with himself as the Head of State, Prime Minister and Minister of war.

The Provisional Government not only enabled Bose to negotiate with the Japanese on an equal footing but also facilitated the mobilization of Indians in East Asia to join and support the INA. Soon after the announcement, the Provisional Government received recognition from various countries.

## List of Ministers Of The Provisional Government

<u>Name of the Minister</u>	<u>Post of the Ministry &amp; Other Ranks</u>
1. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose	Prime Minister & Defense Minister
2. Lt. Col. A. C. Chatterjee	Minister of Finance
3. Dr. (Capt) Lakshmi Sahgal	Minister of Women's Organization (note below)
4. Shri A M Sahay	Secretary with Ministerial Rank
5. Shri S A Ayer	Minister of Publicity and Propaganda
6. Lt. Col J K Bhonsle	Representative of INA
7. Lt. Col Loganathan	Representative of INA
8. Lt. Col Ehsan Qadir	Representative of INA
9. Lt. Col N S Bhagat	Representative of INA
10. Lt. Col M Z Kiani	Representative of INA
11. Lt. Col Aziz Ahmed	Representative of INA
12. Lt. Col Shah Nawaz Khan	Representative of INA
13. Lt. Col Gulzara Singh	Representative of INA
14. Rash Behari Bose	Supreme Advisor
15. Karim Giani	Advisor From Burma
16. Debnath Das	Advisor from Thailand
17. Sardar Ishar Singh	Advisor from Thailand
18. D M Khan	Advisor from Hong Kong
19. A Yellappa	Advisor from Singapore
20. A N Sarkar	Advisor from Singapore

N. B.:- Captain Doctor Lakshmi Swaminathan (later Married as Lakshmi Sahgal) was the Minister in Women's Organization. She held this position over and above her command of the Rani Jhansi Regiment, a brigade of women soldiers fighting for the Indian National Army. For a regular Asian army, this women's regiment was quite visionary, it was the first of its kind established on the continent. Dr. Lakshmi was one of the most popular and prosperous gynaecologists in Singapore before she gave up her practice to lead the troops of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment.

# ॥ ভারতের নোট মুদ্রায়ের কার ছবি থাকা উচিত ॥

শৌর্য ঘোষাল

বিগত ছয় বছর ধরে নেতাজি ও অন্য স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামীদের ব্যাপারে পড়াশুনো করছি। এই ছয় বছরে আমাকে অনেক প্রশ্নের সম্মুখীন হতে হয়। আর সেই প্রশ্নগুলির মধ্যে বারংবার আমাকে সম্মুখীন হতে হয় এই প্রশ্নে যে "ভারতের নোট মুদ্রায়ের কার ছবি থাকা উচিত?"।



আমরা জানি যে ভারতের নোট মুদ্রায় ১৯৮৭ সাল থেকে মহাত্মা গান্ধীর ছবি দেখতে পাওয়া যায়। কিন্তু কিছু বছর আগে থেকে কিছু নেতাজি ভক্ত রা একটি আর্জি জানান যে নোট মুদ্রা থেকে যেন গান্ধীজির ছবি সরিয়ে নেতাজির ছবি লাগানো হয়। কিন্তু এই জায়গাটায় আমি নেতাজি ভক্তদের বিরুদ্ধে চলে যাই (আসলে আমিও একজন নেতাজি ভক্ত)। আমি মানতে পারিনা কারন শুধুমাত্র একা নেতাজি নন যে ভারতের স্বাধীনতার জন্য লরেছেন। আরো এরকম অনেক বিপ্লবী আছেন যাঁদের ও ছবি নোট এ ছাপানো উচিত। কিন্তু এখন এটা সম্ভব না যে সবার ছবি নোটে ছাপানো যাবে। তাই সেই জায়গা থেকে আমার মনে হয় গান্ধীজির ছবি টা সরিয়ে দিয়ে, সেখানে ভারতের অন্যান্য সাংস্কৃতিক বিষয় নোট ছাপানো উচিত যেমন; কৃষি কার্য, ভারতীয় নৃত্য; অন্যান্য জিনিসপত্র।

ভারত আসলে এই কিছু ছোটখাট ব্যাপারের জন্য এগোতে পারছে না। আসলে ভারতের মানুষজন এগোতে দিচ্ছে না। তাই আমার আশা যে ভারত সরকার এই জিনিস্ টি নিয়ে একটি বিশেষ পদক্ষেপ নেবে।

॥ জয় হিন্দ ॥



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"The uncertainties of life are not **appalling**  
to one who has not, at heart, worldly  
**ambitions**"

- Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

## সুভাষচন্দ্র ও বাসন্তী দেবী- এক মা ও পুত্রের মিষ্টি সম্পর্কের কাহিনী

দিগন্ত সেনগুপ্ত

পৃথিবীতে সন্তান ও মায়ের সম্পর্কের চেয়ে মধুরতর সম্পর্ক আর কিছু হয় কি? সচরাচর মা বলতে আমরা তাকে বুঝে থাকি যিনি আমাদের জন্ম দেন। কিন্তু কোন আদর্শবান এক মানুষ যখন জন্মদাত্রী মা ছাড়াও আরো কোনো এক মহিলাকে মা বলে ডাকেন তাহলে বুঝতে হবে সেই সম্পর্কের মিষ্টতা এবং হৃদয়ের অসীম বুনিয়াদ কতটা গভীর!

সুভাষ চন্দ্রের সংগ্রামী জীবনে তার যোদ্ধা পরিহিত পোশাক অনেকাংশেই সুভাষ চন্দ্রের অন্তরের শিশুসুলভ মানসিকতা ও সারল্যের পরিচয় কে আবৃত করে রেখেছে। এহেন পরিচয় পেয়েছিলেন এক মা, তিনি দেশবন্ধু চিত্তরঞ্জন দাশের স্ত্রী শ্রীমতি বাসন্তী দেবী। দেশবন্ধুর সঙ্গে সুভাষ চন্দ্রের সম্পর্ক ছিল পিতা-পুত্রের ন্যায়।

আর বাসন্তী দেবীর সঙ্গে? এ প্রশ্নে সবচেয়ে ভালো উত্তর দিয়েছিলেন সুভাষচন্দ্রের জন্মদাত্রী মা প্রভাবতী দেবী। বাসন্তী দেবী কে তিনি বলেছিলেন- "ওর আমি জন্ম দিয়েছি- কিন্তু ওর মা তো আপনি।"



বাসন্তী দেবীর সঙ্গে সুভাষচন্দ্রের প্রথম আলাপ ১৯২১ সালের এক দুপুরে- ইন্ডিয়ান সিভিল সার্ভিস ত্যাগ করে কলকাতায় ফিরে সুভাষচন্দ্র ছুটলেন দেশবন্ধুর বাড়িতে কিন্তু দেশবন্ধু বাড়িতে না থাকায় বাসন্তী দেবী কে প্রণাম করেই ফিরে আসেন সুভাষচন্দ্র।

সেই থেকেই এই মা - সন্তানের সম্পর্ক শুরু। পরবর্তীতে দেশবন্ধু ফিরে আসার পর সুভাষ আবার যান দেশ বন্ধুর বাড়িতে। বাসন্তী দেবীর হাতের রান্না প্রথমবারের মতো খান সুভাষচন্দ্র।

বাসন্তী দেবী আবেগাপ্লুত হয়ে বলতেন—“কেমন খ্যাপাটে ছিল ও,শোনো। আমার ওপর ওর যত জেদ, যত আবদার, যত অভিমান। বলা নেই, কওয়া নেই, সারাদিন কোথায় কোথায় ঘুরত ফিরত। রাত ১১টার পরে দুম করে এসে হাজির আমার কাছে।এসেই হুকুম—“শীগগির খেতে দিন, ভীষণ খিদে পেয়েছে। আমি বলি, ‘ওমা, সেকি কথা।খাওয়া-দাওয়া কখন শেষ কাজের লোকেরা সব পাট চুকিয়ে বিশ্রাম নিতে চলে গেছে। আমি তোমার জন্য রান্না করতে বসি আর কি। বাবু কি আর সে কথা শোনেন। আবদার ধরে বসেছেন— কেন, ভাতে ভাত খাব।”

দেশবন্ধু বরাবরই নারী স্বাধীনতায় বিশ্বাসী ছিলেন। পরবর্তীতে নেতাজীর “রানী ঝাঁসি বাহিনী” সৃষ্টির অন্যতম অনুপ্রেরণা ছিল দেশবন্ধুর এই শিক্ষা। দেশবন্ধু চাইলেন বাসন্তী দেবী ও অন্যান্য মেয়েরাও অসহযোগ আন্দোলনে যোগ দিন। সুভাষ চন্দ্রের মধ্যে অসন্তোষ দেখা দিল। গোপীনাথ সাহা, কিরণ শংকর রায় কে নিয়ে সুভাষ বললেন যে মেয়েরা রাস্তায় নামবে না। কিন্তু দেশবন্ধু অনড়! ফলস্বরূপ জেলে যেতে হলো বাসন্তী দেবী ও দেশবন্ধুর ভগিনী উর্মিলা দেবী কে। বাংলার মানুষের তীব্র অসন্তোষ ও বিদ্রোহের ফলে বাসন্তী দেবী ছাড়া পেয়ে গভীর রাতে বাড়ি ফিরে এলেন। বাসন্তী দেবীর কথায়- “রাত দুটোয় সুভাষ ও কোথেকে খবর পেয়ে এসে হাজির হয়েছে। মুখ তার তখনও কালো, সেই মুখে কালবৈশাখীর গভীর অন্ধকার। বুঝলাম, সুভাষ শান্ত হয়নি।

হেসে বললাম- ‘কি, এবার হয়েছে? ফিরে তো এলাম; আর কেন?’

কালবৈশাখীর মেঘ সরে গেল, শুরু হল বর্ষণ। সুভাষের সে কি কান্না! কি ভালোই যে বাসতো আমাকে!....”

সুভাষের কত প্রাণের কথা যে বাসন্তী দেবীর অন্তরে বিরাজমান ছিল বাসন্তী দেবীর শেষ বয়স অবধি তা একমাত্র অদৃষ্টের- ই জানার কথা। এমন মায়ের দরদ ও ভালোবাসা কত আপন তা যে পায় সে বোঝে।

১৯২১-২২ সালে সুভাষচন্দ্র এবং দেশবন্ধু যখন একসাথে জেলে বন্দী, তখন দেশবন্ধুর রান্না করে দিতেন সুভাষচন্দ্র। বাসন্তী দেবীর কথায়-“ সুভাষ কিন্তু খুব ভালো রাঁধতে পারতো, তা জানো? ওঁর জন্য দিনের খাবার তো আমিই তৈরি করে নিয়ে যেতাম - রাত্রে ওঁর রান্না জেলের মধ্যে সুভাষ তৈরি করে দিতো। আর আমার কাজ কি শুধু রোজ সকালের খাবার বয়ে নিয়ে যাওয়া? রোজই সুভাষের ফর্দ থাকতো - বাজার থেকে এটা আনা চাই, ওটা আনা চাই। আর তার চাই বললেই তো সে এক প্রচণ্ড দাবী হয়ে দাঁড়ানো!”



এরপরে হলো এক মজার ঘটনা। প্রভাবতী দেবী বলেন- " বাসন্তী একটু দেখ। কত ভালো সম্বন্ধ আসছে। তারা হাপিত্যেশ করে বসে আছে। বারবার খবর নিচ্ছে। তা আমি কি করব? এক তুমি যদি রাজি করাতে পারো। এখন তো মা বলে, তোমাকেই বেশী মানে।"

এক আমদানি রপ্তানি ব্যবসায়ী শ্যামকান্ত দত্তের মেয়ে মোহিনী-র সঙ্গে সুভাষের বিয়ের পাকা কথা চলতে লাগলো। কিন্তু সুভাষ তো অনড়!

এইসময় জনকল্যাণ মূলক কাজের জন্য "তিলক ফান্ড"-র ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছিল, মেয়ের বাড়ি থেকে প্রস্তাব দেওয়া হয়েছিল যে যদি বিয়ে হয়ে যায় তাহলে এক- দু লক্ষ টাকা "তিলক ফান্ড"-এ দেওয়া হবে। কিন্তু সুভাষ যে সংকল্প করে নিয়েছে যে সে বিয়ে করবে না। বাসন্তী দেবী ও দেশবন্ধু প্রচুর চেষ্টা করেও সেই সংকল্প ভাঙতে পারলেন না।

অবশেষে বিয়েটা ভেঙে গেল। বাসন্তী দেবী যে তাঁর আদরের সুভাষের এহেন আচরণে বিব্রত হয়েছিলেন তা সন্দেহাতীত, কিন্তু সুভাষের সংকল্পের প্রতি যে অপার শ্রদ্ধা প্রদর্শন করেছিলেন তা বলার অপেক্ষা রাখে না। ১৯২৫ সালে নেমে এল ঘোর দুর্য়োগ, বাসন্তী দেবী হারালেন তার প্রিয় জীবনসঙ্গীকে, আর সুভাষ হারালেন তাঁর আদর্শ, তাঁর গুরু কে। এহেন সময়ে মা- ছেলে যদি একসাথে থাকতে পারতেন তাহলে হয়তো প্রিয় পুত্র সুভাষ তাঁর "মা" বাসন্তী দেবীর চোখের জল মুছে আশ্বস্ত করে বলতে পারতেন যে - "চিন্তা করো না মা গো! আমার গুরু-ই আমাকে ও দেশবাসীকে পথ দেখিয়ে নিয়ে যাবে।" কিন্তু ঈশ্বরের অভিপ্রায় বোঝে কার সাধ্য? সুভাষ তখন জেলে বন্দী, প্রিয় গুরুকে শেষ দেখাও দেখতে পারলেন না। জেলে যেন একাকী বসে গাইলেন-

"তোমারেই করিয়াছি জীবনের ধ্রুবতারা/ এ সমুদ্রে আর কভু হব নাকো পথহারা-/ যেথা আমি যাই নাকো, তুমি প্রকাশিত থাকো/ আকুল নয়নজলে ঢালো গো কিরণধারা"

১০ ই জুলাই, ১৯২৫ সালে মান্দালয় জেল হইতে বাসন্তী দেবীর উদ্দেশ্যে পত্রে লিখিলেন- " যেদিন বাঙ্গলার আকাশ ঘনঘটায় আচ্ছন্ন, বাঙ্গলার বীরকেশরী কারাগৃহে নিষ্কিণ্ত- যেদিন নৈরাশ্যের আঁধার ভেদ করিয়া এক অপূর্ব মোহনীয় মূর্তি বরাভয়হস্তা মহাশক্তিরূপে বাঙ্গলার কর্মক্ষেত্রে অবতীর্ণ হইয়াছিল। সেদিন বাঙ্গালী আপনার স্বরূপ চিনিয়া ছিল সেদিন বাঙালি আপনাকে শুধু দেশ নায়িকা নয় দেশমাতৃকার আসনে বসিয়াছিল। সেই গৌরবের, সেই আনন্দের, সেই উন্মাদনার দিন বাঙ্গলা ভুলে নাই, ভুলিতে পারে না। সেদিন বাঙ্গালী আপনাকে যে ভক্তি শ্রদ্ধা ও মানের সিংহাসনে বসাইয়াছিল, আজও বাঙালির হৃদয়ে আপনার সেই সিংহাসন



অটুট রইয়াছে। সেদিন হইতে আপনি শুধু চিররঞ্জন- মাতা নন,- আপনি বঙ্গমাতা।

তাই বলি আমাদের এই বিপদের দিনে আপনিই আমাদের শক্তি ও সাহস ও সাধুনা দিন, যে নিবিড় নৈরাশ্যের ঘনাক্ষকারে আজ সমগ্র দেশ নিমগ্ন- যে বিষাদ ও হাহাকারে আজ সোনার বাঙ্গলা শ্মশানপ্রায়- তার মধ্যে, নূতন আলোক বিকিরণ, নব শক্তির উন্মেষ ও নতুন উৎসাহ সঞ্চার- আপনি ভিন্ন আর কে করিতে পারে? যে আহ্বানে আপনি একদিন বাঙ্গালীর শিরায় শিরায় নব জীবন সঞ্চার করিয়াছিলেন, সেই আহ্বানে আপনি আর একবার বাঙালিকে জাগান। যে মন্ত্র- বলে আপনি একদিন বাংলার ঘরে ঘরে প্রাণ প্রতিষ্ঠা করিয়াছিলেন- সেই মন্ত্র লইয়া, মহাশক্তিরূপে, আপনি আর একবার আমাদের মধ্যে অবতীর্ণ হউন।"

Censored. *Passd*  
*5/5 Feb*  
 M. D. L. G.  
 L. B., C. I. D.  
 Bengal.

1114  
Maudslayi Jail  
[C/o S.I.G., I.B., C.I.D.  
(Bengal)  
13, Elgin Avenue, Calcutta]  
22 25/5/25

শ্রী-চন্দ্রনাথ -

[illegible]

মান্দালয় জেল থেকে ২৬.০৪.১৯২৬ সালে বাসন্তী দেবীকে লেখা পত্র

Shi Long

25/5/29

प्रियांका-१

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১৬.০৬.১৯২৭ সালে শিলং থেকে বাসন্তী দেবী কে লিখিত পত্র

সালটা ১৯৩৩। দুই ভাই- শরৎ ও সুভাষ জব্বলপুর জেলে বন্দী। বাসন্তী দেবী, বিভাবতী বসু, শিশির বসু ও অন্যান্যরা গেলেন তাঁদের দেখতে, দেশবন্ধুর প্রিয় "ক্রায়িং ক্যাপ্টেন" সুভাষ তখন চিকিৎসা করতে ইউরোপে যাবেন বলে স্থির হয়েছে। সুভাষ কেঁদে উঠলেন হঠাৎ করে, বাসন্তী দেবী কিন্তু এরকম সময়ে নিজের আবেগ কে ধরে রাখতেন।

সুভাষের স্মৃতিচারণা করতে গিয়ে বাসন্তী দেবী বলেছেন- "লক্ষ্য করলাম বাড়ির বিপরীত দিকের ফুটপাতে একজন ঠিক ঘোরাঘুরি করতে লেগে গেছে।( সুভাষচন্দ্র তখন দেশবন্ধুর বাড়ি এসেছিলেন)। আমি সুভাষকে কিছু তেই বাড়ি পাঠাতে পারছি না। বাইরে তখন টিপ টিপ বৃষ্টি পড়ছে।

শেষে বলি, - "হ্যাঁ সুভাষ, তুমি তো দিব্যি এখানে পড়ে রইলে, আর ওই বেচারি( ব্রিটিশের গোয়েন্দা) যে তোমার জন্য বৃষ্টির মধ্যে রাস্তায় ঠায় দাঁড়িয়ে - ও তো নড়তে পাচ্ছে না ডিউটি ফেলে!"

সুভাষ মজা পেয়ে বললো, "ভিজুক ব্যাটা দাঁড়িয়ে, যেমন আমার পেছনে লেগেছে।"

আমি বলি, "তা ওর কী দোষ বলো। বেচারার চাকরি বাঁচাতেই না এই কষ্ট! কিন্তু ওরও তো বাড়িতে স্ত্রী কিংবা মা আছে, ছেলেমেয়ে কিংবা ভাই বোন আছে। ভেবে দেখো তো ওর জন্য তাদেরও কত ভাবনা হচ্ছে।"

এটুকু বলতেই দেখি সুভাষের চোখ সজল, কোনোমতে নিজেকে সামলানোর চেষ্টা করছে, চোখাচোখি হতে হয়তো বা একটু লজ্জিতও হল। আমি ওর অবস্থা বুঝতে পারছিলাম - অন্যের কষ্ট ও যে কিছুতেই সহ্য করতে পারতো না - এমনকি কানে তেমন কিছু শোনা মাত্র ওর মন যেন ব্যাথায় গলে পড়তো।..."

প্রাণের মা - বাসন্তী দেবীর কাছে সবকিছুই যেন খুলে বলতে হবে সুভাষের। এক সময় বিভাবতী বসু কলকাতার বাইরে গেছেন - সুভাষ বাসন্তী দেবীর কাছে গিয়ে নালিশ জানাল- " দেখুন, মেজবৌদিদি বাড়িতে না- থাকলেই ধোপাটা খুব দুষ্টুমি করে, আমার পাঞ্জাবির সব বোতামগুলি ছিঁড়ে ফেরত দেয়, মেজবৌদিদি থাকলে তো এমন করতে সাহস পায় না!" বাসন্তী দেবী বুঝিয়ে দেন সুভাষকে, যে সংসারের খুঁটিনাটি কিভাবে চলে।



১৯৩৮- এ কংগ্রেস সভাপতি হওয়ার পরে সুভাষচন্দ্র চেয়েছিলেন যে বাসন্তী দেবী যেন তাঁর সাথে কংগ্রেসের সভায় যান। কিন্তু সে চেষ্টা বৃথা গেল। বাসন্তী দেবী ইতিমধ্যেই রাজনীতির আঙ্গিনা থেকে সরিয়ে নিয়েছেন নিজেকে। সুভাষ অনেক চেষ্টা করেও তাঁকে সে পথে আনতে পারেননি।

বাসন্তী দেবীর স্মৃতিচারণায় বারংবার উঠে আসত সুভাষের সেই সারল্যের কথা, ভাতে- ভাত খেতে চাওয়ার আবদারের কথা। সুভাষের এক ভারী সুন্দর অভ্যাস ছিল- দেশবন্ধুর বাড়িতে গিয়ে-

খাটের উপর টান টান হয়ে শুয়ে পড়া, দিয়ে বিশ্রাম করা।

১৯৪১ সালে দেশত্যাগের পূর্বে, ১৯৪০ এ যখন জেল থেকে ছাড়া পেলেন সুভাষচন্দ্র তখন বাসন্তী দেবীর হাত ধরে বলেছিলেন- যে, বাসন্তী দেবী যেন মনে রাখেন যে বাসন্তী দেবীর একটি ঋণ শোধ করা বাকি আছে, তা হল ভাতে ভাত রান্না করে সুভাষ কে খাওয়ানো। কিন্তু সেই ঋণ যে বাসন্তী দেবীর জীবনের শেষ দিন অবধি ও শোধ করা বাকি রয়ে গিয়েছিল। কারণ তাঁর আদরের প্রিয় সুভাষ যে কাউকে কিছু না বলেই দেশ ত্যাগ করে চলে গিয়ে এক মহানায়কে রূপান্তরিত হয়ে গিয়েছিলেন। বাসন্তী দেবীর বহু অপেক্ষাতেও সুভাষ ফেরেনি আর।

যুদ্ধের রণাঙ্গনে সুভাষের ও কি ইচ্ছা করত না! তাঁর "মা" বাসন্তী দেবীর কাছে একবার ভাতে- ভাত খেতে? কে জানে! হয়তো করতো! আসলে মা ছেলের ভালোবাসা যেমন তীব্র হয়, বিচ্ছেদও বোধ হয় একেবারে হৃদয়ের অন্তঃপুরে তীরের মতো বিঁধে ওঠে। তার যন্ত্রণা বুঝি আরও তীব্রতর হয়।

হয়তো সুদূর প্রাচ্যে, সেই সুভাষ- "নেতাজী" তে পরিণত হয়েও অন্তরে অন্তরে বাসন্তী দেবীর জন্য গেয়ে উঠতেন-

" আজি প্রণমি তোমারে

চলিব নাথ, সংসারকাজে ।

তুমি আমার নয়নে,

নয়ন রেখো অন্তরমাঝে ॥“

তথ্যসূত্রঃ সহযোগিতা - সুভাষ স্মৃতি, বসু বাড়ি, সুভাষচন্দ্র বসু সমগ্র রচনাবলী, মহানায়ক



**Portrait Of Subhas By**

**Arnab Mitra**

Arnab Mitra  
class 5



**Forward**  
Rebuilding India in Netaji's Way

"Clear thinking and bold action  
**presuppose** a correct **perception** of the  
facts of life."

- Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

## MAHANAYAK: A SPECIAL TRIBUTE

Sayan Manna

The title appears to be somewhat confusing but it is a fact, stranger than fiction. He had the largest inning of an active, daring and impetuous revolutionary. Born in Chandan Nagar, a small French pocket near Kolkata, it was a congenial ground for the growth of revolutionary movement, and is proud of producing Kanailal Datta and Rash Behari Bose.

The moral and intellectual background came from Motilal Roy, the editor of Prabartak, which inspired many a youngster. Rash Behari Bose suddenly came in to prominence after 23rd December 1912 when bombs were thrown at Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy of India. The planning for it was ingenious. At a conclave in Chandan Nagar, the suggestion for an attack on Hardinge emanated from Shreesh Ghosh, a dare-devil friend of Rash Behari.



But some of the associates present thought that it was unpractical. Rash Behari, on the other hand, had already made up his mind and said that he was ready and resolute but laid two conditions - that he should be supplied with powerful bombs and that he should have a young man of unimpeachable revolutionary character. Both were obtained and the first rehearsal was made on Diwali of 1911, amidst sound of crackers all round. The bombs burst to Rash Behari's satisfaction. But he had to wait for more than one year, which, however, was fully utilised in rehearsing for the immensely vigorous deed on 23rd December.

The young man who came from Chandan Nagar was one Basant Biswas, a handsome boy of 16 years. He could easily be dressed up as a girl and get mixed up with other women sitting on the

spacious terrace of a building in Chandni Chowk. All were eagerly waiting for the Vice-regal procession. The bombs had to be hurled by Basant on the target. He had actually practised it for months in the garden of Raja PN Tagore at Dehradun. Rash Behari was serving with the Forest Research Institute there, and Basant was supposed to be his servant. Cigarette tins were filled with stone pieces and were hurled at the imaginary height of Hardinge, seated on a Howdah. On the previous day Rash Behari took his young 'girlfriend' in a Tonga and had a ride through the roads of Chandni Chowk, which was to be the venue, the next day.

It was the 23rd December 1912. The Viceroy and the Vicereine were on the elephant back. Ladies were excitedly waiting for the procession to arrive. Basant (dressed as a girl) was one amongst them. The point chosen was the Clock-tower in Chandni Chowk, near the Punjab National Bank. The bomb was to be thrown when the elephant would be just in front. Rash Behari would be at a nearby point and Awadh Bihari would be just opposite, to throw the bombs if Basant somehow failed.

The atmosphere was electrifying, when it just occurred to Rash Behari that the practice of bomb throwing in cigarette tins at Dehradun would be of no avail. It was from the ground to the imaginary height of the target on an elephant back. He just rushed in and asked Basant to enter the bathroom and quickly change his Sari to male clothes which he was carrying. There came out a handsome boy in place of a beautiful girl. In the all-round excitement of the moment, none noticed the 'sartorial change of sex' of the boy from Bengal. He came down and got mixed up with the crowd on the foot path. But the bombs were not thrown by him but probably by Awadh Bihari. The Viceroy was seriously injured and was taken to a famous doctor nearby, named A.C. Sen. Awadh Bihari was later hanged but Rash Behari could not be touched.

He returned to Dehradun by the night train and joined the office the next day as though nothing had happened. Further, he organised a meeting of loyal citizens of Dehradun to condemn the dastardly attack on the Viceroy. Who on earth could imagine that he was the same person who had masterminded and executed the most outstanding revolutionary action. Lord Hardinge in his *My Indian Years* had described the whole incident in an interesting way.

Though Hardinge escaped death, Rash Behari's efforts continued unabated. Actually, it was a larger area of operations, a sort of an all India revolution concentrating mainly on the various cantonments. As a god-send, the leadership for it came from unexpected quarters. By 1914, many 'explosive elements' came to India from America, Canada and the Far East. They were, broadly



speaking Ghadr elements. About four thousands of them were already in India. They had brought some arms and money. But all that they lacked was a proper leader. After the attempt on Hardinge, their eyes fell on Rash Behari.

At this juncture came Vishnu Ganesh Pingle, an American trained Ghadr, who met Bose at Benares and requested him to take up the leadership of the coming revolution. But before accepting the responsibility, he sent Sachin Sanyal to Punjab to assess the situation. Sachin returned very optimistic. In mid-January 1915, Rash Behari first announced the news of the impending revolution at a private meeting at Benares. The war in Europe had already started. Most of the Indian army was shifted to other theatres of war. Of the thirty thousand men left at home, most were Indians whose loyalty could be won over easily. In this context Rash Behari was considered the only leader, particularly after the heroic Hardinge episode. Various persons were placed on duty at various places. Men were sent far and wide to propagate the message at the forthcoming revolution. Trusted and tried Ghadrates were sent to some cantonments to infiltrate into the army.

Rash Behari was both the brain and brawn of the coming revolution. Not only was he capable of cool and clear thinking, he also had indefatigable energy to organise a revolution of such a magnitude, moving from place to place, always alert to evade the ever alert police in his pursuit. He even organised a few rehearsals at Khairon, Ferozpur and Lahore.



February 21, 1915, was the date on which the signal of revolution would be given. At the very out-break, British officers would be rounded up and police outposts occupied. When it would spread to the Frontier Province, the tribals would come to the cities and capture the govt. establishments. Rash Behari personally would move from one cantonment to another in the dress of an army officer.

But on February 15, Kripal Singh, a soldier, and also a new recruit to the revolutionary party, was seen suspiciously moving about the Lahore station, contrary to instructions. He was to have been at Mian Mir with a message from Rash Behari to the troops. The revolution planned for the 21st

was fizzled out but Rash Behari completed his task though not in his own country but in Japan, when the veteran revolutionary organised the INA. There he handed it over to the younger Bose (Netaji), on 4th July, 1943. He was by then old and infirm physically, but was indomitable in spirit. The Japanese government honoured him with the highest title given to a foreigner - The Second Order of Merit of the Rising Sun. But the honour done by the Emperor of Japan on his demise is more touching. The Imperial coach was sent to carry the dead body of the Indian veteran revolutionary. But we, in independent India, have failed even to get the ashes of the great patriot back to his motherland.

**Source :-**

1. The Father of Indian National Army ( Vol. 1 & Vol. 3 )
2. আমি রাসবিহারীকে দেখেছি

# A Short History of the British in India

Subroto Mitro

Doorway to Bharat-Varsha (India) was sought since 327 BC, when Alexander the Great returned from the borders of India. In 1100 AD, Muhammad Ghorī a Moslem, defeated Prithviraj Chauhan to begin looting, and in 1500's, the Mughals, established Moslem rule in Hindustan (India). The Indian spices, silk clothes and Chinese gunpowder had already changed the West. Marco Polo, a traveler to the rich east, opened the greedy eyes of many European sailors who began to search for India. In 1492, Christopher Columbus found the shores of America and mistakenly called its natives, Indians. In 1498, Vasco da Gama finally reached India, by sea. A British doctor Sir Thomas Roe, in mid-1500's who treated the Mughal emperor received certain land rights in east and west coasts of India which today are known as Kolkata (Calcutta) and Mumbai (Bombay). On 31 Dec. 1600, the British Queen Elizabeth I, by Royal Charter incorporated a trading company for "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies." This East India Company (EIC), with 125 shareholders and 72K pounds, was granted exclusive British rights to trade with all countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope for 15 years. In 1609, King James I, renewed the Company's Charter permanently. By 1611, two trading factories were established on the mainland near Bay of Bengal. Two ships a month, unloaded cargoes, in English ports at profits greater than 200%. The Company confined to trade in the coasts was permitted by the Mughals to trade in-land throughout Bengal.

King Charles II, gave the EIC authority to coin money, command forts, raise an army, form alliances, make war, peace, exercise civil and criminal jurisdictions. At the end of the century, the shareholders were expanded to include many others in England. A Court of Directors (a Committee of 24) located at India House, Leadenhall Street, London, operated this Company. Upon death of Aurangzeb, in 1707, until 1757, the British acquired as much of the territory as it conveniently could. After Clive's victory over the Nawab of Bengal at Battle of Plassey, the British became the ruling power in India and the British Parliament decided to exercise its control. The Governor of Bengal was raised to the rank of Governor-General and became subject to the crown. Local Legislative Powers and a Supreme Court was established. In 1784, a Board of Control supervised its military, political and finances.



King Charles II of England



Prithwiraj Chauhan

Lord Cornwallis (1738-1805), defeated by the American revolutionaries and their French Allies, had surrendered at Yorktown, Virginia in 1781. But in India, in 1791 he found victory, defeating Tippu Sultan, the Lion of Mysore, at Seringapatnam who were fighting with swords against the British Guns. In 1813, the Board got control of the Company's commercial interests. After the 1857-58 Sepoy Mutiny (India's First War of Independence, remember Rani Jhansi, Mangal Pande?), the rule of the Company was taken over by Her Majesty's Government by a Viceroy who reported (directly by Telegraph in 1865) to the Secretary of State for India at UK. Three Presidencies, established at Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, each had autonomous governors and military commanders. Punjab and Burma were put under Chief Commissioners or Lt-Governors. Ceylon became a crown colony. Head of the Bengal Army was the Commander-in-Chief, India, and was mostly a senior General from UK. The British Indian Army always remained a volunteer army. Even during World War I and II, when rest of the world drafted its youths to join their Army, the British Indian Army raised millions, the largest all volunteer army in the history of the world. The British Indian administration operated through the Indian Civil Service (ICS) Officers. Prior to 1912, all officers were white. Indian Army medical doctors were the first permitted to be commissioned. In 1918, military and civil commissions began for others.

Lord Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, a brilliant barrister (according to Desh-bandhu CR Das in his auto-biography), an INC President, 1915-16, who left his lucrative service to join the British Indian Administration, later became an Under-secretary at UK under Lord Minto, then the Secretary of State, the only Indian to receive Knighthood and Peerage from the British in 1917, created the First Constitution of India Act 1919 (GOIA) in the British parliament. In April 1919, the Jalianwala Bagh Massacre took place in Amritsar, and Gandhi's Satyagraha found a successful footing all over India. Gandhi promised the Indian public he would obtain for them India's Freedom from the British within one year, and thus won the hearts of all Indians. Though INC had given its initial consent to Sinha, since 1916, including in 1919 Gandhi's assent to the Montague-Chemsford Reforms, the INC refused to participate in the 1920 First General Elections under the GOIA. The 1920 Election of India saw Moslems, and non-INC Hindus, get elected to the Parliament, which divided the INC and Swaraj Party was formed. In 1935 after the Round Table Meetings in which Gandhi traveled to participate in UK, GOIA II, an amendment to the earlier Constitution of India enlarged the Parliament under which Jawahar L Nehru became the INC leader (and thus later in 1947, the PM, though he lost within Working Committee vote in Congress to Sardar Patel, where Gandhi intervened).

The Indian Army (Azad Hind Fauz) led by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, fighting with the Japanese Army against the Allied Forces, in WW II in Burma Front, had an impact on Indian Independence and hastened the dawn of freedom. Earl Atlee the British Prime Minister, who had presided over the liquidation of the British Empire in 1947, confirmed this during his visit to India in 1956. He told Mr Chakravarty, the then Governor of Bengal, that the decision to quit quickly in 1947 had been taken because the British could no longer rely on the loyalty of the

Indian Army. Atlee cited several reasons, the principal among them being the erosion of loyalty to the British Crown among the Indian army and navy personnel as a result of the military activities of Netaji. Toward the end of the discussion when asked Atlee, what was the extent of Gandhi's influence upon the British decision to quit India. Hearing this question, Atlee's lips became twisted in a sarcastic smile as he slowly chewed out the word, "m-i-n-i-m-a-l!" Thus the British Transfer of Reign was delayed by some 30 yrs clearly empowering the Moslems over Hindus. After WWII, the British formed two Pakistan's, East and West, on 14 August 1947. India got Independence on 15th August under the India Independence Act (IIA) which required that India and Pakistan join the British Commonwealth. This keeps safe the British companies like Lipton, ICI, ITC, Metal Box, etc. continuing the transfer of revenues to UK shareholders. British Dominion and dependency on Indian Sepoys were thus also transferred to English educated "Indian Shareholders, Employees and Managers".

In 1950, Ambedkar was asked by Nehru to amend the Constitution again (GOIA III?) but Ambedkar and Nehru could not even change the country's name back to "Bharat". Three more Indians have since received British Peerage, the recent one being Lord Swaraj Paul in 1997. British Commerce today continues in India with large profits by British companies in Chemicals, Tea and coatings etc. continuing to go to Britain.



Forward  
Rebuilding India in Netaji's Way

"Do not get angry at the **meanness and narrow-mindedness** of others. Meanness has to be **conquered** with love."

- Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

## Debunking the Popular Myths Concerning Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

Sayani Banerjee Bhattacharjee

Subhas Chandra Bose, the phenomenon, the legend that he was, is and shall continue to be for millions of Indians, needs no further affirmation. The history of his legacy, however trouble, has left an indelible imprint upon the tides of time and shall go down in posterity. However, while his life and action elicits admiration, it is indeed a sad irony that in an attempt to glorify him, Indians often tend to elevate him to an idolatry status, as if to deny him, his human entity and have him throned on the highest pedestal imposing upon the ‘Man of flesh and blood’ that he was (and had always wanted to be) a God-like demeanor.

However, such an admiration is in itself superfluous. Besides, it reeks of ingenuity and what is still worse is, it suspends all possibility for dispassionate and unbiased critical evaluation of his political career. Thus Subhas Chandra Bose remains with us today as almost a mythical figure, his name shrouded in a veil of mystery. What is even more unfortunate is that the only thing that fundamentally excites the imagination of hundreds of thousands of self-proclaimed Netaji admirers is nothing but the undying mystery surrounding his disappearance. Whether the Promethean Super Hero of India (that is how most Indians perceive him today) did meet his heroic end on that fatal day of 18th August 1945 seems to be a moot question, as if the beginning and end of Netaji’s legacy!

However, while there is every need to make a national demand for the ultimate disclosure of the mystery surrounding Netaji’s disappearance, there is more to his life that needs to be celebrated. For, his life offers so much to emulate and admire that there remains no further room for fantasy or wild imagination. However, for us to truly appreciate his life for what it is, it is necessary that the Mythical Cult Hero-like aura about him be deconstructed, and the myths pertaining to his life and political discourses be debunked

To that effect, the resurgence of interest in the history of Bose in the recent times, especially among the youths seems somewhat like a silver lining. With the renewed interest on Bose, an effort may be made at deconstructing the popular myths pertaining to the life and political and ideological beliefs of Netaji, so as to better understand the ‘Man’ that he was in the light of his actions.

Therefore, this paper shall attempt to debunk, by means of detailed evidentiary documentations, primarily derived from well-documented biographies, some of the flagrantly false myths that are presently being peddled about him by historians and political activists alike.

### **Myth 1: Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was a Communist in his Political Ideology**

Netaji was indeed a Leftist in his political ideology. However, that said, his notion of leftism fundamentally differed from what the term is commonly understood today. Leftism originally meant anti-imperialism and thus Bose was leftist in the sense that he was a staunch anti-imperialist. Netaji, throughout his life fought for undiluted or unconditional freedom and ‘merely substance thereof.’ Therefore, neither communism nor economics was central to Subhas’s idea of Leftism. To quote his own words, “In the present political phase of Indian life, leftism means anti-imperialism. A genuine anti-imperialist is one who believes in undiluted independence (not Mahatma Gandhi’s substance of independence) as the political objective and in uncompromising national struggle as the means for attaining it. After the attainment of independence, leftism will mean socialism and the task before the people will then be the reconstruction of national life on a Socialist basis. Socialism or socialist reconstruction before attaining our political emancipation is altogether premature.” (PP. 27-28, ‘The Indian Struggle’ (1920-1942))

Bose further identified the rightists as essentially those who were ‘prepared for a deal with imperialism’ and therefore considered them as negation of leftists. He also considered Aurobindo Ghosh as well as B. Tilak as Leftists, however, by no means was either of them a communist. (Ref: Page 15, ‘The Indian Struggle’ (1920- 1942))

As a matter of fact, Bose had on many occasions explicitly dissociated himself from communist ideology. He essentially considered himself to be “a socialist, but that was a very different thing from being a communist” (Page 348, ‘Brothers Against The Raj’).

The fundamental difference between socialists and communists lay in their respective emphasis on internationalism with regard to nationalism. In this connection, Netaji had explicitly ridiculed the concept of Internationalism, popularly associated with communism and criticized the communists for their vicious attack on the concept of nationalism. In his own words, “The attack is not only ill advised but unconsciously serves the interests of our alien rulers...before we can endeavour to reconstruct Indian society...we should first secure the right to shape our own destiny...When political freedom has been attained, it will then be time to consider seriously the problem of social and economic reconstruction. As far as I am aware this is also the opinion of prominent communists in other lands. To introduce fresh cleavage within our ranks by talking openly of class war and working for it appears to me at the present moment to be a crime against nationalism. To what straits we may be reduced by a mal-assimilation of Karl Marx and Bakunin becomes manifest when we come across a certain class of Indian Labourites (or communists, if you call them so), who openly advocate the use of British or foreign cloth on the plea of internationalism.” p. 166, Brothers Against The Raj.

Further, on a letter to his elder brother from the Mandalay Jail, Bose had explicitly divulged his rejection of Communism, dissociating himself from the said ideology. He had stated, rather succinctly, “If I had the remotest intention of becoming a Bolshevik agent, I would have jumped at the offer made and taken the first available boat to Europe. If I succeeded in recouping my health, I could then have joined the gay band who trot about from Paris to Leningrad talking of world revolution and emitting blood and thunder in their utterances. But I have no such ambition or desire.” p. 146, *Brothers Against The Raj*.

Besides, while National emancipation was primary, and unionisation secondary to Netaji along with other socialists, radicalisation as well as organisation of the workers was fundamental to Indian Communists. In fact, Subhas, the visionary statesman that he was, didn’t take long to realise that Communism shall never be adopted in India, primarily owing to its denunciation of religious sentiments among other aspects.

Bose anticipated that “There are several reasons why Communism will not be adopted in India. Firstly, Communism today has no sympathy with Nationalism in any form and the Indian movement is a Nationalist movement – a movement for the national liberation of the Indian people. (Lenin’s thesis on the relation between Communism and Nationalism seems to have been given the go-by since the failure of the last Chinese Revolution.) Secondly, Russia is now on her defensive and has little interest in provoking a world revolution though the Communist International may still endeavour to keep up appearances. The recent pact between Russia and other capitalist countries and the written or unwritten conditions inherent in such pacts, as also her membership of the League of Nations, have seriously compromised the position of Russia as a revolutionary power. Moreover, Russia is too preoccupied in her internal industrial reorganisation and in her preparations for meeting the Japanese menace on her eastern flank and is too anxious to maintain friendly relations with the Great Powers, to show any active interest in countries like India. Thirdly, while many of the economic ideas of Communism would make a strong appeal to Indians, there are other ideas which will have a contrary effect. Owing to the close association between the Church and the State in Russian history and to the existence of an Organised Church, Communism in Russia has grown to be anti-religious and atheistic. In India, on the contrary, there being no association between the Church and the State, there is no feeling against religion as such. Further, in India a national awakening is in most cases heralded by a religious reformation and a cultural renaissance. Fourthly, the materialistic interpretation of history which seems to be a Cardinal point in Communist theory will not find unqualified acceptance in India, even among those who would be disposed to accept the economic contents of Communism. Fifthly, while Communist theory has made certain remarkable contributions in the domain of economics (for

instance the idea of state-planning), it is weak in other aspects. For instance, so far as the monetary problem is concerned, Communism has made no new contribution, but has merely followed traditional economics. Recent experiences, however, indicate that the monetary problem of the world is still far from being satisfactorily solved.” pp. 352-353, *The Indian Struggle (1920-1942)*.

It must be noted that Bose was neither an exception, nor a rarity among the contemporary leftist counterparts in his rejection of Communist ideology. The Socialist Democratic Party of Germany, which is principally a Leftist Party was known to have voted in favour of the First World War in the Reichstag, expelling its Communist counterparts in 1917. Later, under the leadership of Fredrich Ebert the party was once again known to have extended its support to the Germans against the Communists leading the post war riots. However, despite its anti-communist attitude, it was still considered a leftist party.

Essentially speaking, during the lifetime of Subhas Chandra Bose, the widespread acceptability of Socialism as a novel economic concept was indeed so pervasive that most of his political contemporaries espoused the same. Gandhiji too, often found himself on the same page with Subhas on the question of Socialism. In this connection, an instance may be drawn from one of the articles he’ penned in *Harijan*, on the 14th of April 1940. In this article, Bapu was found approving the socialistic principles advanced by Jaiprakash Narayan. To quote the words of Gandhi:

“I have claimed that I was a socialist long before those I know in India had avowed their creed. But my socialism was natural to me and not adopted from any book. It came out of my unshakable belief in non-violence. No man could be actively non-violent and not rise against social injustice no matter where it occurred. Unfortunately, Western socialists have, so far as I know, believed in the necessity of violence for enforcing socialistic doctrines....Shri Jayaprakash’s propositions about land may appear frightful. In reality they are not. No man should have more land than he needs for dignified sustenance. Who can dispute the fact that the grinding poverty of the masses is due to their having no land that they can call their own?”(pp. 144-145, ‘Jayaprakash’s Picture’, Gandhi’s article in *Harijan*.)

Gandhi further asserts “This brings me to socialism. Real socialism has been handed down to us by our ancestors who taught: “All land belongs to Gopal, where then is the boundary line? Man is the maker of the line and he can therefore unmake it.” Gopal literally means shepherd; it also means God. In modern language it means the State, i.e., the people... That the land today does not belong to the people is too true. But the fault is not in the teaching. It is in us who have not lived up to it. I have no doubt that we can make as good an approach to it as is possible for any nation, not excluding Russia, and that without violence.”(pp. 231-232, *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Gandhi speech at Faizpur).



Jawaharlal Nehru further stated at a press statement issued on 18th December, 1933, “I do believe that fundamentally the choice before the world today is between some form of Communism and some form of Fascism, and I am all for the former, that is Communism. I dislike Fascism intensely and indeed I do not think it is anything more than a crude and brutal effort of the present Capitalist order to preserve itself at any cost. There is no middle road between Fascism and Communism. One has to choose between the two and I choose the Communist ideal. In regards to the methods and approach to this ideal, I may not agree to everything that the orthodox Communists have done. I think that these methods will have to adapt themselves to changing conditions and may vary in different countries. But I do think that the basic ideology of Communism and its scientific interpretation of history is sound.” (p. 351, ‘The Indian Struggle’ (1920-1942).

Furthermore, in 1945-46, the eminent RSS leader BS Moonje was seen fashioning ‘Hindu Socialism, in collaboration with Bhopatkar. They were jointly engaged in formulating a socialist agenda that ‘avoided the evils of capitalism and secured the fruits of socialism.’ The Leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, Dr Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, was desirous to form the Hindu Mahasabha as per the ‘principles of Socialism’ for the 1946 polls. (The Emergence, Crystallisation and Shattering of a Right-wing Alternative to Congress Nationalism: The All India Hindu Mahasabha 1937-1952 by Keith Meadowcroft).

It may be mentioned, in this connection, that the all-pervasive popularity of Socialism was known to continue way beyond Bose’s times. The Bharatiya Janata Party as is evident by its own constitution swears allegiance to ‘Socialist Principles’ as per the mandate of the National Constitution (Page 1, [26]). Moreover, our Former Prime Minister, Honourable Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, had stated that “For the Bharatiya Janata Party, Gandhian socialism is what we want to achieve and make society free of exploitation and full of opportunities. So, we need to start this debate again.” Further, in the year 1976, even a staunch capitalist G.D. Birla was unequivocal in his affirmation as he said, “I am a capitalist but I believe in a socialism which means equal opportunity, more employment and a fairer standard of living for everyone. Socialism should not mean socialising poverty but raising the quality of life.” (p. 227, ‘The Emissary G. D. Birla, Gandhi And Independence by Alan Ross.’)

However, despite the overwhelming popularity of the ideology of Socialism, Netaji did not identify with the principles of Forward Bloc- the party he formed to be akin to that of Socialism. This is explicit in the goals he set for his party, when he proclaimed that the “Forward Bloc will rally all progressive, radical and anti-imperialist elements in the Congress, whether they be Socialists or not. Through this consolidation, the people will equip themselves for the anti-imperialist struggle that will bring India her birth right of liberty.” (The Role of Forward Bloc by Subhas Chandra

Bose). Moreover, Banke Bihari Mishra, who has authored the book “The Indian Political Parties” has made a rightful estimation of Netaji’s views in the following words “In the peculiar colonial situation of the country, his Leftist views did not go beyond being anti-British. From a Socialist point of view, it was no doubt surprising, though perfectly consistent with the tradition of the Indian Revolutionary Movement.” (p. 475, “The Indian Political Parties”)

Therefore, it may be summed up that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was a leftist in so far as Leftism implied fierce, uncompromising anti-imperialist sentiments. However, the other attendant preconditions of the Leftist ideology was largely rejected by him.

## **Myth 2: Bose Was an Atheist**

Leonard Gordon, the Biographer of Subhas Chandra Bose has opined that “Subhas issued no public statements on religion, but his Hinduism was an essential part of his Indianness” ( p. 263, *Brothers Against the Raj – Biography of Indian Nationalists*, Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose.) His mother was devoted to Durga and Kali” p. 32, [10] and “his inherited and chosen form to worship the divine was in the form of the Mother Goddess, especially as Durga or Kali.” (p. 123, *Brothers Against the Raj – Biography of Indian Nationalists*, Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose.)

Besides, even a casual glance over Bose’s letters, particularly those addressed to his immediate family members and friends (who were apolitical, such as the likes of Mr Dilip Kumar Roy), as also the various accounts of his contemporaries reveal his deep spiritual inkling. Cited below are some of his letters and correspondences that irrefutably establishes the point.

Instance may be drawn of one such letter that he wrote to his sister-in-law on the 26th of December 1925 from the Mandalay jail in Burma. Divulging his unwavering faith on spiritually and religious sentiments, Bose writes “Who knows how long we shall have to be in prison? But, all our suffering will be bearable if we get the chance of worshipping the Mother once a year. In Durga, we see Mother, Motherland and the Universe all in one. She is at once Mother, Motherland and the Universal spirit.” (p.170, *In Burmese prisons*, Subhas Chandra Bose Correspondence May 1923-July 1926, Netaji Collected Works, Volume III.)

A year later, on October 16th, in a letter addressed to his elder brother, Sarat Bose, Bose reiterates his religious sentiments further. He writes “It (Durga Puja) is a source of aesthetic enjoyment, intellectual recreation and religious inspiration and affords abiding solace. Today is Bijoya Dasami and throughout Bengal relations, friends and even enemies - children of the same Mother - will be soon embracing one another in fraternal love.” (p. 84, *Netaji Collected Works*, Volume IV).

In reference to this letter, Leonard Gordon, Bose’s Biographer has commented: “So Durga Puja

was the moment in the round of the year when he (Bose) and his Bengali prison-mates felt united with the Bengali people from whom they had been arbitrarily separated.” (pp. 135-136, *Brothers Against the Raj – Biography of Indian Nationalists*, Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose.

Furthermore, on March 5th 1933, Bose from his voyage to Europe wrote, in a letter, to his close friend Dilip Kumar Roy: “To be quite frank, I am torn this side and that - between my love for Shiva, Kali and Krishna. Though they are fundamentally one - one does prefer one symbolism to another. I have found that my moods vary - and according to my prevalent mood, I choose one of the three forms - Shiva, Kali and Krishna. Of these three again, the struggle is between Shiva and Shakti. Shiva, the ideal Yogi, has a fascination for me and Kali the Mother also makes an appeal to me. You see, of late (i.e., for the last four or five years) I have become a believer in Mantra Shakti by which I mean that certain Mantras have an inherent Shakti. Prior to that, I had the ordinary rationalistic view, namely that Mantras are like Symbols and they are aids to concentration. But my study of Tantra philosophy gradually convinced me that certain Mantras had an inherent Shakti - and that each mental constitution was fitted for a particular Mantra. Since then, I have tried my best to find out what my mental constitution is like and which Mantra I would be suited for. But so far I have failed to find that out because my moods vary and I am sometimes a Shaiva, sometimes a Shakta and sometimes a Vaishnava.” (p. 2, *Subhas Chandra Bose India's Spokesman Abroad*, Subhas Chandra Bose, Letters, Articles, Speeches and Statements 1933-1937 Netaji Collected Works Volume VIII.)

The letter referred to, clearly divulges Bose's deep insight into Hindu Philosophy, including the philosophy of Tantra. As a matter of fact, years later, when Netaji was illegally detained in Presidency jail, he was forced to announce a fast unto death in moral protest of his illegal incarceration, and he did so, on the sacred day of Kali Puja, on the 30th of September 1940. Such a stand was a clear affirmation of his religious faith. Netaji, penned a letter to the then Superintendent of Prison, swearing by the name of Mother Kali: "I repeat that this letter, written on the sacred day of Kali Puja, should not be treated as a threat or ultimatum. It is merely an affirmation of one's faith, written in all humility.” (pp. 187-189, *The Alternative Leadership*.)

Therefore, Subhas Chandra Bose's religious inclination and deep-rooted faith on the philosophy of Hinduism reflects in his actions and discourses throughout his active life in politics till 1945 (and even beyond, though arguably). In fact, as witnesses to his active political life, many of his INA officials have publicly testified about Bose's religious and spiritual inkling. To further quote the words of Swami Stidananda as well as Swami Siddhatananda ((based on accounts derived from their interviews given to Bose's Biographer Leonard Gordon, on 13th July 1979, Singapore): "While Bose was in Singapore, Bose frequently visited the Ramakrishna Mission in Norris

Road and spent hours in the shrine room meditating. While bombs were beginning to fall on Berlin, he practised his spiritual exercises late at night in his own home, but in Japanese-occupied Singapore he was able to make a connection to the congenial monks of the Ramakrishna order who spread the teachings of Sri Ramkrishna and Swami Vivekananda which had so moved Bose and were still meaningful to him. It was a haven from the surrounding storm of war and a place where he could make contact for himself with things eternal.” (p. 502, *Brothers Against the Raj – Biography of Indian Nationalists*, Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose.)

### **Myth 3: Religious and ethnic discrimination was at the Heart of Netaji’s Politics**

Netaji Bose is often accused of Muslim appeasement. That’s not all, he is charged of having discriminated against the South Indians. Further still, Netaji is often misunderstood to be an Islamophile. However, to make a rightful estimation of Subhas Bose stances on the aforementioned arguments, we must thoroughly evaluate his actions and statements, so as to better understand his positions on such questions. The present paper therefore, attempts to explore, and on the basis of evidentiary counterarguments, debunk a subset of misconceptions that are prevalent about him.

However, right at the outset, one must realise that Bose, being, as much a human (unlike a Superhuman as he is most often assumed to be) as any other of his contemporaries, must not be considered infallible. And, as per critics and political analysts, some of Bose’s writings on Muhammedans is even said to have revealed, though arguably, a lack of critical understanding of Islamic Doctrines, or for that matter, even the gory history of Muslim atrocity. However, that said, whether, he could or would have acted differently had he had a thorough understanding (as per popular opinion) of the same is largely indeterminate. This is because, on many occasions, on questions pertaining to Muslims, Subhas Bose acted on exactly the same lines as those of Hindutva Doyens such as Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, Savarkar, Rajendraprasad and those popularly termed as Hindu heroes.

Subhas’s politics right from the period he set out on his own, that is, after the untimely demise of his political mentor C.R. Das, was fundamentally based on the principle of ‘Religious Equality. However, that said, on occasions that demanded him to be vocal on acts of religious discriminations and biases, Bose never shied away from publicly and rather vociferously taking up a stand against religious discriminations meted out towards Hindus. Bose indeed went a step further to even point out to such acts of religious biases or discriminations and appeasement of Christians and Muslims as was often resorted to by the British Government.

One such instance can be drawn from an incident in Subhas Bose’s life while he was being incarcerated in Mandalay jail. It was during this time that Netaji Bose, along with other political prisoners wrote a letter on the 2nd of February 1926, to the Chief Secretary of the Government of



Burma demanding financial allowance for the expenses to be incurred in performing popular Hindu festivities such as Durga and Saraswati pujas as well as Dol Purnima and Holi in Jail. In his letter he cites about the allowances granted to the Christians for observance of their religious rituals, and thereby demanding the same for the Hindu prisoners.

The letter in question is cited below.

"To the Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Burma

Mandalay

2.2.26

Re-Allowance for Religious Ceremonies

Dear Sir,

We submitted to you dated the 16th January, 1926, regarding allowance for the Saraswati Puja to which no reply has yet been received by us.

We have already requested the Inspector general of Prisons that there are three important religious ceremonies which we have to perform here (viz the Saraswati Puja, the Holi and Dol Purnima Festival and the Durga Puja) and that we expect Government to sanction the expenditure in connection with those ceremonies.

...It would not be out of place here to mention that in the Alipore Central Jail a sum of Rs. 12000 per annum is spent for the Christian convicts in connection with their religious worship (vide report Indian jail Committee 1919-20 vol III page 744).

Yours faithfully,  
S.C.B., S.C.M., T.C.C., B.B.G., M.M.B., M. M. G., S.S.C., J. L. C" pp. 207-208, [20]"

And when the plea of the prisoners went unheard, Bose wrote back a stinging rejoinder, along with an official declaration of their intention to go for a fast until the Government decided to concede to their demand. Cited below is the letter referred to.

*To the Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Burma  
Through The Superintendent of Jails, Mandalay, Dated,  
Mandalay, the 16th February, 1926*

Dear Sir,

We are sorry that we have received no satisfactory reply to our representation of the 16th January and the 2nd February, 1926. Neither has the question of the last Durga Puja been yet settled to our satisfaction, though six months have elapsed.

....

By failing to meet our religious demands, your Government have shown a lamentable ignorance of the religious instincts of the Indian people and of their past and present history. To us Orientals, religion is neither a social convention nor an intellectual luxury nor a holiday recreation. It is life itself. Religion is woven into the very texture of our daily and social life and it permeates our whole being-individual and national. ...

The pages of Indian history teem with the undying examples of martyrs who suffered and died for the sake of their religious beliefs. They died so that India may live. And in spite of our misery and degradation, India still lives. She lives because of her soul is immortal - her soul is immortal because she believes in religion. We have lost much. Political freedom is no more. Economic independence is a thing of the past - even our national culture is being daily undermined by the subtle policy of peaceful penetration. But we still have our religion. We still claim the right to worship our God after the fashion of our glorious ancestors, and we shall sooner cease to exist than succumb to the religious domination of the West. ...

...From the ashes of the dead past India is again rising phoenix-like to take her place among the free nations of the world, so that she may deliver her message, the message of the spirit, and thereby fulfil her mission on earth. India lives today because she still has a mission unfulfilled. For no other reason has she survived the onslaughts of time. Civilizations have risen and fallen, empires have grown and have melted away into thin air; Babylon and Nineveh, Carthage and Greece have crumbled into dust. But Indian culture is as potent a factor today as it was thousands of years ago when some of the foremost nations of the modern world were no better than savages. And do you think, Sir, the people who have suffered so much and braved so much throughout their whole history will obsequiously acquiesce in an arbitrary infringement of their religious rights? We hope against hope that the lessons of the war of 1857 and of the Akali and Tarakeswar Satyagraha movements of yesterday have not been altogether lost on this Govt.

The action or rather the inaction of your Government constitutes an unwarranted interference with our religious rights. It militates against the spirit of the Queen's proclamation which promises liberty of worship to the different religions and sections in India. Further - and this is of much greater import - it is a violation of God's Law, as we understand it. Spending Rs. 12000 per annum for the religious worship of a few Christian criminals lodged in the Alipore central jail - and refusing to sanction a pie for the religious ceremonies of the Hindu detenus of high education and culture - is not this, Sir, an outrage on justice and fair play?

The utterly unreasonable and uncompromising attitude of your Government has left us no other alternative and for the vindication of our religious rights as well as the redress of several long-



standing grievances, we are being compelled to adopt the only honourable course open to persons in our position. We have accordingly resolved to commence hunger strike on Thursday, the 18th Feb, 1926.”

(..... Subhas Chandra Bose (and others) pp. 221-226, In Burmese prisons, Subhas Chandra Bose Correspondence May 1923-July 1926, Netaji Collected Works, Volume III.)

And as per his declaration, on February 18, 1926, Netaji had conducted a fast in protest against the Government for its condemnable act religious discrimination against the Hindus.

Again, after about fourteen years since his first hunger strike, on the 20th of September 1940, Bose wrote a letter for a second time, this time to the Superintendent of the Presidency jail, making a similar demand, that is, demanding the right to observe the Hindu festival of Durga Puja in jail. Here again, Bose did not forget to point out to the British Government that such allowances were granted to the Muslim and Christian detenus for observance of their religious practices and thus he expects the same to be granted to the Hindu prisoners. Subhas even goes a step forward to demand that Hindu prisoners be permitted to perform the Puja as prescribed by the Hindu religious practices and also as per the time determined by astronomical calculations. Cited below is the letter in question:

"The  
Presidency  
20. 9. 40

Superintendent  
Jail

Dear Sir,

*...The following points regarding the Durga Puja have to be noted:*  
 (1) *It is the great national festival among Hindus in this part of the country.*  
 (2) *It is a congregational worship. Hence it is called not merely 'Puja' but 'Utsav' also.*  
 (3) *Three priests are necessary for Durga Puja - including 'Chandi Path' the recital of Chandi. It is physically impossible to do with less than two - and that is possible only by saddling one of the priests with 'Chandi Path', which they often refuse as involving too much strain.*  
 (4) *The hours of Puja are fixed by astronomical calculations. For instance, the most important ceremony is 'Sandhi Puja' which is held on the 8th day of the moon - and the Puja hour is often late at night (I do not know yet what the hours for 'Sandhi Puja' are this year).*

*Durga Puja in Jail will consequently be possible only if the following extra concessions are being allowed:*

*(1) Since Durga Puja is congregational in character all Hindu prisoners who are so desirous should be permitted to participate. It may be remarked here that similar facilities are given to Muslim pris-*

oners during Id and to Christian prisoners in Alipore Central Jail during Christian festivals. In any case there is no reason why all Hindu political prisoners should not be allowed to participate.

(2) At least two priests should be allowed.

(3) They should be allowed to perform the ceremony in the hours fixed by astronomical calculations, whatever those hours may be.

(4) Minimum music should be allowed. Music is essential for 'Arati' ceremony in particular. (The question of Puja allowance should be considered along with the general question of our status which is under consideration).

If these concessions are not allowed it will mean virtually that Govt. do not allow Durga Puja in Jail. This will be an unjustifiable cancellation of the concessions we gained after considerable suffering in Jail in the fifteen-day hunger strike in 1926. It will mean, further, that concessions allowed by the bureaucratic regime are being withdrawn by the popular ministry.

The consequences of such situation will naturally be serious for us...

Yours

faithfully

Subhas C. Bose”

(pp. 182-183, The Alternative Leadership, Speeches, Articles, Statements and Letters, June 1939-1941 Subhas Chandra Bose, Netaji Collected Works, Volume 10)

Years later, during his stay in Presidency jail, when Netaji further decided to announce a fast unto death in moral protest of his illegal incarceration, he wrote in a letter to the Superintendent of Prison on September 30, 1940: "There is no other alternative for me but to register a moral protest against an unjust act and as a proof of that protest, to undertake a voluntary fast. This fast will have no effect on the 'popular' ministry, because I am neither the Maulavi of Murapara, Dacca nor a Muhammadan by faith. Consequently, the fast will, in my case, become a fast unto death. ... Britishers and the British Government have been talking of upholding the sacred principles of freedom and democracy, but their policy nearer home belied these professions. They want our assistance to destroy Nazism, but they have been indulging in super-Nazism. My protest will serve to expose the hypocrisy underlying their policy in this unfortunate country-as also the policy of a Provincial Government that calls itself 'popular', but which in reality, can be moved only when there is a Muhammadan in the picture" (pp. 187-189, The Alternative Leadership, Speeches, Articles, Statements and Letters', June 1939-1941 Subhas Chandra Bose, Netaji Collected Works, Volume 10).

Netaji, in this letter refers to the Muslim appeasement of the Provincial Government of Bengal, then led by Fazlul Haq.



Moreover, Netaji was known to motivate Indians towards the struggle for National Emancipation by means of Hindu symbolisms based on the appeal it had on the people he addressed. For instance, on the 9th of December, 1930, he had called upon the women to volunteer themselves in the fight for Independence, by means of invoking the imagery of Asurdalani Durga: "Women had not only duties to their family, but they had also a greater duty to their country. When the gods found their sliver almost vanquished in their fight with the demons, they invoked the help of "sakti" in the form of mother. The country was in a sad plight, therefore the country looked up to the mothers to come forward and inspire the whole nation." (p. 238, *Brothers Against the Raj – Biography of Indian Nationalists*, Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose)

Furthermore, Netaji is accused of Muslim appeasement owing to his support of the use of Hindustani as the National language. And as the Hindustani language is a synthesis of Urdu and Hindi, the utilization of the former has been considered as an instance of Muslim appeasement by many. Besides, Bose is particularly criticized for having named the INA as 'Azad Hind Fauj' because the phrase itself is Hindustani with its origin in Urdu. Although, the selection of Hindustani as the National language is indeed debatable and might as well be opposed but the fundamental question is whether this can be regarded as an indication of Bose's Islamophilia per se. For, there are good many instances of other political stalwarts who had extended their wholehearted support in favour of the use of Hindustani as the National language. That's not all, many of them had been indeed quite generous in using Urdu even in their public discourses. Cited below are only a few instances of the same.

It is indeed interesting note in this connection that INC or the Indian National Congress, in the year 1925 had chosen Hindustani as the National language of India and the resolution in question was championed by none other than Mr. M.K. Gandhi. In the 1925 Kanpur Session of the Congress, the following resolution was passed: "The proceedings of the Congress shall be conducted, as far as possible, in Hindustani. The English language or any provincial language may be used if the speaker is unable to speak Hindustani, or whenever necessary." (p. 212, *Pilgrimage to Freedom*). One might quote further, the words of Brij Kishore Sharma (former chairman, National Book Trust India and Additional Secretary, Ministry of Law): "The Congress under the leadership of Gandhiji adopted a language policy which was in tune with its method of forging Hindu-Muslim unity. As part of this policy, Gandhiji stated that the Congress supports Hindustani. Hindustani would be neither Hindi nor Urdu, but a mixture of both. It may be written in Dev Nagari or Persian script...."

Moreover, around the time of India's Independence, a Constituent Assembly was constituted for the preparation of the Constitution of India. As per the rule formulated by the Constituent

Assembly (Rule 29), the Rule Committee “laid down that in the Assembly business shall be transacted in Hindustani (Hindi or Urdu) or English...with the permission of the President, a member may address the House in his mother-tongue.”

In fact, the members of the constituent assembly supporting the enforcement of Hindustani as the official language included Jawaharlal Nehru, Patel and Maulana Azad. On the other hand, instances of Hindu Nationalists generously using Urdu in their public discourses is no less in number. One among them, for example, was Lala Hardayal, who despite being a committed Hindu, named his revolutionary party, after an Urdu word Ghadar, as the Ghadar Party.

Bose is further accused of Muslim appeasement for having formed an alliance with the Muslim League. However, in the year 1940, the Hindu Mahasabha too was known to have formed an alliance with the Muslim League for the constitution of Provincial Governments in Bengal, Sind and NWFP Provinces.

Another accusation charged upon Netaji is that he had discriminated against the South Indians. The allegation brought about him is that despite his strong following in South India, Netaji never reached out to them. However, such a conception is rather a myth, for, clearly there is no official record of any resentment against him, especially on linguistic grounds in the INA. On the contrary, records prove that he attached much importance to Tamil language as far as the daily proceedings of his Provincial Government was concerned. In fact, as per records, the “Proclamation of the Provincial Government of Free India” in English by Bose himself, in Tamil by Mr. Chidambaram and in Hindustani by Mr AN. Sahay, (p. 117, Writings and Speeches 1943-1945, Chalo Delhi. Also, the central office of the provisional government published its newspapers, bulletins, etc.)

Besides, the South Indians are known to hold distinguished positions in his Government. While S.A. Ayer held a distinguished post as the Minister of Propaganda in the Provincial Government of Free India, Ramamurthy was deputed as the Head of Indian Independence League.

Therefore, the accusation of Bose having resorted to Muslim appeasement of discriminations against the South Indians stands nullified in the face of the evidences cited above.

Hence, in conclusion, it might well be affirmed, in the light of the above study, that the opinions and conceptions pertaining to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose’s political and religious stances are more myths than reality and therefore must be debunked for authentic interpretation of his historic legacy, which would in turn help us pay true homage to the memory of the greatest son of Mother India.



## লেফট রাইট লেফট...

সৌভিক বিশ্বাস

গত পর্বের পর ...

“..... তা হল সামরিক প্রস্তুতি। এখন জোর যার মূলুক তার। এই কথাটি মনে রাখতে হবে। ধর্মের কথা বলে নিজেদের ভুলিয়ে রাখলে চলবে না। কংগ্রেসকে প্রথমে সামরিক বাহিনীর ওপর দখল কয়েম করতে হবে, তার সমস্ত শাখার দখল। শিক্ষা, জনস্বাস্থ্য আমাদের কোনদিন স্বাধীনতা এনে দেবে না। প্রকৃত প্রয়োজন শক্তি। এই একটি লক্ষ্যের ওপর তোমাদের শক্তি একীভূত করতে হবে। আমি মনে করি ড: মুঞ্জি সামরিক বিদ্যালয় স্থাপন করে কংগ্রেসের চেয়ে অনেক বেশী কাজ করেছেন। ভারতীয়দের সর্বাত্মক সামরিক বাহিনীর ওপর প্রভুত্ব স্থাপন করতে হবে। তাদের অস্ত্র ধারণের অধিকার লাভ করতে হবে।

তারপরেই প্রয়োজন হিন্দু ঐক্য। মুসলিমরাও হিন্দু, যেহেতু তারা ভারতে জন্মেছে, যেহেতু তাদের ধর্মীয় আচার অনুষ্ঠান তুরস্ক, আফগানিস্তান, পারস্য প্রভৃতি দেশের মুসলিমদের থেকে আলাদা, হিন্দুধর্ম এত উদার যে সে ইসলামকেও নিজের মধ্যে স্থান দিতে পারে। যেমন অতীতে করেছে। সব ভারতীয়ই হিন্দু, অন্যধর্মে বিশ্বাসী হলেও। যেমন সব জাপানীই জাপানি, তারা বৌদ্ধ, খ্রিষ্টান হলেও।

কংগ্রেসের উচিত প্যান – এশিয়া আন্দোলনকে সমর্থন করা। চীন জাপান যুদ্ধের পিছনে জাপানের উদ্দেশ্যে কী না বুঝে জাপানকে নিন্দা করা কংগ্রেসের অনুচিত। জাপান ভারতের এবং অন্যান্য এশীয় দেশের বন্ধু। তার প্রথম লক্ষ্য এশিয়ায় ব্রিটিশ প্রভাব ধ্বংস করা। চীনে সে সেই কাজ আরম্ভ করেছে।

কংগ্রেসের একটি বিশ্বরাজনীতির বোধ প্রয়োজন। আন্তর্জাতিক পরিস্থিতি অনুধাবন করতে হবে এবং ভারতের স্বার্থে তাকে ব্যবহার করতে হবে। ব্রিটেনের শত্রুদের সঙ্গে আমাদের বন্ধুত্ব স্থাপন করা উচিত। তাই হওয়া উচিত আমাদের বিদেশ নীতি। বাস্তব রাজনীতির মধ্যে ভাবালুতার কোন স্থান থাকা উচিত নয়। স্বার্থই সর্বদা তার ভিত্তি হবে। জাপান এখন ব্রিটেন, আমেরিকা এবং রাশিয়ার চক্ষুশূল। তার কারন অতিসহজেই বোঝা যায়। যেমন করে হোক তারা জাপানকে দমিয়ে রাখতে চায়। জাপানের পতন হলে, এশিয়ার নবজন্ম ও এশিয়ার বন্ধন মুক্তির আশা তিরোহিত হবে। জাপান বিরোধী আন্দোলন করে কংগ্রেস মহাভুল করেছে। আমাদের মনে রাখা উচিত, একটা সময় আসতে পারে যখন ইংল্যান্ড জাপানের সঙ্গে করমর্দন করবে, এবং জাপানের বিপদের সময়ে ভারতের জাপান বিরোধী কার্যকলাপের দিকে আঙুল দেখিয়ে ভারতকে নিয়ন্ত্রিত করবে। এখন ভারতীয়দের পক্ষে সবচেয়ে ভালো নীতি জাপানকে সমর্থন করা এবং এই

সুযোগের সদ্ব্যবহার করে বিশ্বরাজনীতিতে তাদের প্রভাব বৃদ্ধি করে নেওয়া, এবং ব্রিটেনের কাছে থেকে যতটা সম্ভব সুবিধা আদায় করে নেওয়া।

পরাধীন দেশের পক্ষে স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনের সময়ে একনায়কতন্ত্র একান্ত প্রয়োজন। যেমন যুদ্ধের সময়ে, তেমনি এখন স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের সময়ে একনায়কতন্ত্র ততখানিই অপরিহার্য। আইন অমান্য আন্দোলনের সময় কিছু পরিমাণে একনায়কতন্ত্র প্রবর্তিত হয়েছিল, সেই কারণেই সে আন্দোলন অত সফল হয়েছিল।

শান্তির সময়ে গণতন্ত্র কার্যকরী। কিন্তু, যুদ্ধের সময় যদি গণতন্ত্র মেনে চলা হয়, দেশের সর্বনাশ অবশ্যম্ভাবী। আমরা জীবন উপভোগ করতেও জানি না, জীবন উৎসর্গ করতেও জানি না। সেইটাই হয়েছে মুশকিল। এ বিষয়ে জাপানিদের অনুসরণ করা উচিত। বর্তমানে দেশের জন্যে সানন্দে তারা হাজারে হাজারে প্রাণ দিচ্ছে। এই মানসিকতা আমাদের জানা চাই। আমাদের জানতে হবে, কেমন করে মরতে হয়। তখন ভারতের স্বাধীনতার সমস্যা আপনি মিটে যাবে।

আপনার ওপর আমার বিশ্বাস আছে। লোকের নিন্দায় কান না দিয়ে, বাধা – বিপত্তি অগ্রাহ্য করে এগিয়ে যান। সঠিক পথে জাতিকে এগিয়ে নিয়ে চলুন। আপনি এবং ভারত সাফল্য পাবেন।

আশির্বাদ সহকারে,

আপনার

রাসবিহারী বোস।

(চিঠির অংশ শেষ হল)।

নিজস্ব মতামত:-

বিচার আপনাদের উপর ছাড়লাম। ওনাকে বোঝা দায়! যে দায় নিয়ে বুঝতে গেলে নিজেরাই গুণ্য হয়ে যেতে হয়। উনি কোন *ism* এর পক্ষপাতী নন। সে কমিউনিজম হোক বা ফ্যাসিজম। ওনার লক্ষ্য ছিল *Divine Motherland* এর মুক্তি। তাতে তিনি একবার কংগ্রেসম্যান, একবার ব্লকের নেতা, আরেকবার জাতীয়তাবাদী কখন দক্ষিণপন্থী দলের সাথেও হাত মিলিয়েছেন। আবার *nazi* বা ইম্পেরিয়াল জাপান এর সাথে

থেকেছেন। উনি না বাম না ডান। উনি ভারতের বা বলা ভালো Indic Wing এর প্রধান হোতা।

ধন্যবাদ।

বন্দেমাতরম।



## রেখাকাব্য

যে কোন পত্রিকা'র অবিচ্ছেদ্য অঙ্গ হলো রেখাকাব্য। কিন্তু হালে তা ক্রমে ক্ষীয়মাণ। FORWARD এর সামান্য প্রয়াস এই ধারা বাঁচিয়ে রাখার জন্য। এই প্রথম রেখাকাব্য প্রকাশিত হলো FORWARD WEBZINE এ। এখানে কলম ও তুলি ধরেছেন, শিল্পী পাবুশা দাস



৭৭ তম মৈরাং বিজয় দিবস উপলক্ষেঃ

ফরওয়ার্ড মিডিয়া গ্রুপ, নবজাগরণ, কান্ডারী ও অন্যান্য নেতাজি প্রেমী সংগঠনের যৌথ উদ্যোগেঃ

# স্বেচ্ছায় বঙদান শিবির

চক্ষু পরীক্ষা ও স্বাস্থ্য পরীক্ষা শিবির

১৮ই এপ্রিল, ২০২১ | রবিবার  
তরুণ সংঘ ক্লাব, হিন্দমোটর, হুগলি



# Who Are **We**?

Margaret Mead in all her wisdom said that a small number of thoughtful, committed people could change the world and it is the only thing that ever has. We are a group of like minded students, who want to change history with the power of our words and voices. And we are here to create one too. Committed to the ideals of Netaji, ours' is a small, earnest attempt to give back the Liberator the justice that has hithertho been denied, that he always deserved. We are nothing without you. And together, we can bring a revolution.

## Our **Team** :

Abhinaba Bose  
Amit Chakraborty  
Diganta Sengupta  
Debangana Chakrabarti  
Rounak Chakraborty  
Preetha Bose  
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Committee (2020-22)



**Forward**

Rebuilding India in Netaji's Way

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# Forward Webzine

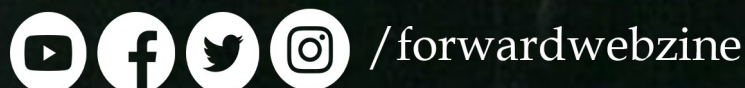
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